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SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE SITUATION WITH REGARD TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES

VERBATIM RECORD OF THE 1383rd MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Wednesday, 7 August 1991, at 10 a.m.

Chairman: Mr. ALARCON DE QUESADA (Cuba)
(Vice-Chairman)

later: Mr. SLABY (Czechoslovakia)
(Vice-Chairman)

- Organization of work
- Requests for hearing

Question of the United States Virgin Islands

- Question of sending visiting missions to Territories

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READEX FICHE

- Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories transmitted under Article 73 e of the Charter of the United Nations

- Activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Delcaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in Territories under colonial domination and efforts to eliminate colonialism, apartheid and racial discrimination in southern Africa

- Military activities and arrangements by colonial Powers in territories under their administration which might be impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (A/AC.109/1065, 1066 and 1070)

- Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples by the specialized agencies and the international organizations associated with the United Nations: report of the Acting chairman; report of the Secretary-General

- 285th report of the Subcommittee on Petitions, Information and Assistance

- Question of New Caledonia

- Question of East Timor

- Question of Gibraltar

In the absence of the Chairman, Mr. Alarcon de Quesada (Cuba), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.

The meeting was called to order at 10.40 a.m.

ORGANIZATION OF WORK

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): I wish at the outset to inform members of the Committee that at the meeting of the expanded Bureau yesterday, a decision was taken to propose to this Committee the establishment of an open-ended drafting group to examine and prepare the draft resolutions and draft decision on three of the items of our agenda, namely, items 4, 5 and 6 relating respectively to Activities of foreign economic interests, Military activities and arrangements and Implementation of the Declaration by the specialized agencies. If there is no objection, I shall take it that the Committee endorses that proposal.

It was so decided.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): As announced in the Journal, the open-ended drafting group will begin its work immediately after the adjournment of the afternoon meeting.

REQUESTS FOR HEARING

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): I wish to draw the attention of members to additional requests for hearing, which have been circulated in aides-mémoire 12/91/Add.1, 13/91/Add.1, 15/91/Add.1, 16/91/Add.1, 17/91/Add.1, 18/91 and 19/91 relating respectively to East Timor, the Falkland Islands (Malvinas), the United States Virgin Islands, Implementation of the Declaration by the specialized agencies, Activities of foreign economic interests and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

(The Chairman)

In respect of aide-mémoire 12/91/Add.1 relating to East Timor, members have before them communications dated 1 and 6 August received from Indonesia, contained in document A/AC.109/1081 and an addendum thereto.

I now call on the representative of Indonesia.

Mr. SRIWIDJAJA (Indonesia): In response to aides-mémoire 12/91 and Add.1, dated 31 July and 6 August 1991 respectively, concerning requests from persons as well as organizations to appear before the Special Committee, my delegation wishes to reiterate Indonesia's principled position, as expressed earlier by the Indonesian delegation on 1 August 1991 and circulated as official document A/AC.109/1081. Consequently my delegation strongly opposes the participation of the aforementioned persons as petitioners in the Committee's deliberations and requests that this opposition should be reflected in the official record of this meeting.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): The reservations just expressed by the representative of Indonesia will be reflected in the record of the meeting. On that understanding, and if there are no further comments, shall I take it that the Committee agrees to grant these requests for a hearing.

It was so decided.

Mr. LEHNE (Norway): Mr. Chairman, after you have granted the requests for hearing, I should like to reiterate Norway's official position with regard to the matter of this Committee's dealing with the the question of Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. It is Norway's opinion that this Committee is not mandated to deal with the question of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, in accordance with Article 83 of the Charter. I therefore request that our reservations should be reflected in the records of this Committee meeting.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): We shall take note of the reservations expressed by the representative of Norway. They will be included in the record of the meeting with respect to the Territory to which he has referred.

We shall next take up the requests for hearing relating to the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) contained in aide-mémoire 13/91/Add.1. If there are no objections, I shall take it that the Committee agrees to grant this request.

It was so decided.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): We shall next take up the request for hearing relating to New Caledonia contained in aide-mémoire 15/91/Add.1.

If there is no objection, may I take it that the Committee agrees to accede to this request?

It was so decided.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): We shall next take up the request for hearing relating to the United States Virgin Islands contained in aide-mémoire 16/91/Add.1.

If there is no objection, may I take it that the Committee agrees to accede to this request?

It was so decided.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): We shall next take up the request for hearing relating to the implementation of the Declaration by the specialized agencies contained in aide-mémoire 17/91/Add.1.

If there is no objection, may I take it that the Committee agrees to accede to this request?

It was so decided.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): We shall next take up the request for hearing relating to activities of foreign economic and other interests contained in aide-mémoire 18/91.

If there is no objection, may I take it that the Committee agrees to accede to this request?

It was so decided.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): We shall next take up the request for hearing relating to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands contained in aide-mémoire 19/91. In this connection, the Committee has already heard the statement of the representative of Norway, which will be reflected in the record of the meeting. If there are no further comments, may I take it that the Committee agrees to accede to this request?

It was so decided.

QUESTION OF THE UNITED STATES VIRGIN ISLANDS

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): I wish to inform members that the report of the Subcommittee on Small Territories will not be available until the morning of Friday, 9 August. Therefore, the Committee will not take up the related items until that date. However, in view of the importance that the Committee attaches to the participation of representatives of Non-Self-Governing Territories in its work, the expanded Bureau, at its meeting yesterday, decided to recommend to the Committee, on an exceptional basis, that it authorize the representative of the United States Virgin Islands, Mr. Carlyle Corbin, to address the Committee on Thursday, 8 August, as he will not be available to do so on 9 August when the item is considered by the Committee.

If I hear no objection, may I take it that the Committee agrees to proceed in that manner?

It was so decided.

QUESTION OF SENDING VISITING MISSIONS TO TERRITORIES (A/AC.109/L.1757 and L.1758) (continued)

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): As announced in my report, I intend to continue consultations on this item with all parties concerned, given the importance that the Committee attaches to the question. I have kept the item open on our agenda in order to allow all delegations wishing to express their views on this important question to do so.

I now call on the representative of the United States.

Ms. TAHIR-KHELI (United States of America): As this is my first opportunity to speak during this session of the Committee of 24, I should like to express my delegation's thanks to the Acting Chairman for his efficient handling of these meetings and for allowing me the opportunity to speak to the Committee this morning. I am also extremely grateful to the members of the Secretariat for their commendable efforts on behalf of the Committee.

Beginning with the convening of two working groups to consider United Nations decolonization reform and continuing into the spring session of the Committee of 24, the United States has noted an enhanced atmosphere of cooperation among our delegations. We have been working together steadily towards an important goal - ensuring that the United Nations decolonization committees function as effectively as possible in meeting the actual needs of the people of the remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories. The United States has been encouraged by statements in favour of reform made in both working groups, and we cite in particular two forward-looking non-papers presented to the Fourth Committee working group by the United Kingdom and the Nordic countries.

Enhanced cooperation between the Administering Authority and the Committee, including discussion of Visiting Missions, has often been cited as

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an important element in the overall reform processs. The United States is serious in fulfilling its responsibilities under the Charter, and as an Administering Authority we continue to have an abiding interest in seeing that United Nations decolonization committees work to the maximum benefit of the people of our Territories. We intend to follow closely the reform efforts of the Committee of 24. We can assure members of the Committee that the United States will seriously evaluate the scope of its future relationship with the Committee after assessing results of the reform process this fall.

My delegation therefore wishes to restate the importance of this session of the Committee of 24. It is now time to turn general statements in favour of reform into progress on substance. As the Committee of 24 is now involved in negotiations on the language of its resolutions - especially the resolutions on foreign economic interests and on military installations in the Territories - we hope that Committee members will keep in mind recommendations that the United States has made in these past months, namely, that the language of resolutions reflect current realities pertinent to the remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories, which are located primarily in the Caribbean and the Pacific.

Permit me to restate some of our specific suggestions:

With Namibian independence, apartheid is a subject no longer relevant to the work of United Nations decolonization committees. The United States joins members of this Committee in condemning the system of apartheid, but there are several other forums in the United Nations system that can deal more relevantly and effectively with this important subject.

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In conjunction with the enhanced atmosphere of cooperation in the United Nations, the Committee should eliminate unhelpful and confrontational language, such as name-calling, from all all of its resolutions.

We firmly endorse other reform suggestions made by Committee members, such as a rationalization of Committee of 24 subcommittees and of the Committee of 24 agenda. We ask Committee members to refer to our non-paper and to our statements before this Committee in previous months for some of our other reform proposals.

Again, we thank Committee members for hearing us this morning. We hope that our common efforts to reach meaningful Committee of 24 reform will achieve success.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): If there are no further speakers, the Committee will continue consideration of this item at its next meeting.

INFORMATION FROM NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES TRANSMITTED UNDER ARTICLE 73 e OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS (A/AC.109/1080 and A/AC.109/L.1759) (continued)

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): Does any member wish to speak on this item at this stage? As that is not the case, may I take it that the Committee is prepared to adopt draft resolution A/AC.109/L.1759 without a vote?

Draft resolution A/AC.109/L.1759 was adopted.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): The Committee has thus concluded consideration of the item.

ACTIVITIES OF FOREIGN ECONOMIC AND OTHER INTERESTS WHICH ARE IMPEDING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES IN TERRITORIES UNDER COLONIAL DOMINATION AND EFFORTS TO ELIMINATE COLONIALISM, APARTHEID AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA (A/AC.109/1073, 1075 to 1078) (continued)

MILITARY ACTIVITIES AND ARRANGEMENTS BY COLONIAL POWERS IN TERRITORIES UNDER THEIR ADMINISTRATION WHICH MIGHT BE IMPEDING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES (A/AC.109/1065, 1066 and 1070)

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDEPENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES BY THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES AND THE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS ASSOCIATED WITH THE UNITED NATIONS: REPORT OF THE ACTING CHAIRMAN (A/AC.109/L.1761, E/1991/116); REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (A/46/229)

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): As members will recall, at the beginning of this meeting, the Committee granted the request for hearing made by Mr. Gonzalez Gonzalez relating to the implementation of the Declaration by the specialized agencies.

At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Gonzalez Gonzalez took a place at the petitioners' table.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): I now call on Mr. Gonzalez Gonzalez.

Mr. GONZALEZ GONZALEZ (interpretation from Spanish): As this is the first time that I am addressing a plenary meeting of the Committee of 24 in a personal capacity, I should like to congratulate you, Sir, upon your service as Acting Chairman of this United Nations body, which has done so much honour to the world Organization and has achieved so much for the decolonization of enslaved peoples which, like my own people of Puerto Rico, continue to trust that the tremendous forces of oppression will not be able to mock mankind in order to remain the lords and owners of the 19 Territories that are being considered by the Committee. As you are a son of heroic revolutionary Cuba, I

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know that under your guidance this Committee will confront and defeat those who wish to turn the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples into the Special Committee to Consider Questions relating to Chapter XI of the Charter or into the Special Committee on Improving the Colonial Situation of Peoples and Countries that still Lack Sovereignty.

The item before us is entitled "Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples by the specialized agencies and the international organizations associated with the United Nations". The Declaration we are referring to is, as is well known, the one contained in resolution 1514 (XV), a document which is the sole foundation of the Committee of 24 and which those of us who are not free regard as our Ten Commandments and the alpha and omega of decolonization. I am referring to decolonization, not to more or less permanent cosmetic changes within the colonial system.

The question before us today is also on the agenda of the Fourth Committee. It is a topic of great importance not only to colonial peoples but also to journalists, particularly those of us who are accredited to the United Nations. We are all interested in knowing what the specialized agencies and international organizations are doing to benefit the 19 colonial Territories considered by the Committee of 24. We are interested in knowing the extent to which those agencies and organizations are implementing resolution 1514 (XV) and resolution 35/118 and its Plan of Action for the Full Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and

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Peoples. We are also interested in knowing what their specific activities are and in what Territories they are carrying them out.

Judging by the documents that I have looked at, it seems to me - and I hope that I am mistaken - that they are doing very little. And what is being done is restricted to very few colonial situations, to the detriment of the rest of the colonial Territories, for which they also should be doing something. We all know that the mandate of these organizations does not discriminate between enslaved Territories; it never states that there are better Territories and worse Territories, Territories that deserve aid and Territories that do not. This is why agencies such as the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the International Labour Organisation, the World Bank and the World Health Organization and similar organizations must evince interest in all colonial Territories, not merely in a few. All colonies are equal in being colonies, from the largest, Puerto Rico, with 3.6 million inhabitants, to the very smallest, Pitcairn, with fewer than 60 inhabitants. All deserve the same attention, and all, I think, would be very grateful for any aid provided to them.

This being the case, why are colonial Territories in general receiving so little aid? Why is that aid restricted to so few colonial Territories? Could it be that the specialized agencies have so little money that they have to limit their aid, in so far as the aid itself is concerned, and limit the number of Territories that they can help? Then let them say so publicly and officially for the information of the world at large and particularly for the information of the world Organization. This is the only way that the Organization can try to get the money needed for the benefit of all colonies.

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And if the problem has little or nothing to do with money matters, then is it due to political questions? Could it be that the administering Powers do not let specialized agencies enter the Territories of their colonies in order, inter alia, to ensure that they will not see what is really happening there and that those Powers will be able to keep sending messages to the United Nations saying that their colonies are democratic, that the people are happy, proud to be citizens of the United States or Indonesia or France or some other imperialistic, capitalist country, grateful for being colonies and enjoying the military support of the United States or Great Britain against enemies that they do not in fact have?

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Would that be the reason, to ensure that the truth is not known? Then, let that be said publicly and officially for everybody to know, particularly the Committee of 24, so that the Committee can try to seek a remedy for the problem either in the General Assembly or by requesting help from the Secretary-General.

I said that it is the duty of the specialized agencies to deal with all colonial Territories, as the mandate of the General Assembly requires, and not just with some, which would imply some kind of differentiation, which flies in the face of morality and of resolution 1514 (XV). That resolution stipulates that international institutions are to deal with all colonial Territories. So that what I have said will be better understood, I shall circulate, with the Secretariat's help, two documents: one is the speech by the delegate of the World Health Organization to the members of the Subcommittee on Petitions, Information and Assistance on 1 May 1990, and the speech delivered on 11 April 1990 to the same Subcommittee by the delegate of the Christian Peace Conference, which has its headquarters in the capital of Czechoslovakia, Prague.

More than 90 per cent of the speech by the delegate of the Christian Peace Conference is devoted to Puerto Rico and its colonial status. I cannot deny that, for obvious reasons, the content of this speech is very much to my taste. However, just as I have criticized the specialized agencies for dealing with only a few colonial Territories, I must also criticize this speech. Puerto Rico is not the only colonial Territory. There are 19 Territories under the jurisdiction of the Committee of 24. The fact that Puerto Rico is the largest colonial Territory does not make it superior. All the colonial Territories are precisely that: colonial. The slavery is one

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and the same. In matters to do with the item before us, all are equal; we are all carrying the same cross; we are all suffering the same exploitation and the same persecution. It is unjust and immoral to draw distinctions between one colonial Territory and another in so far as the colonial issue is concerned.

As I do not wish to prolong my statement, I shall conclude with the following comments: firstly, I have noted that during the course of discussion on this item in the Subcommittee on Petitions, Information and Assistance, very few representatives from specialized agencies and international organizations took part. Worse still, after they take part, i.e., read out their speeches, the representatives go away and do not come back until the following year.

I suggest, with all due respect, that those institutions should be requested to remain present while the item is being considered, for the two or three days that requires, and that they should take part in considering it, as the national liberation movements do when the topic that relates directly to them is being considered. I also suggest that the same should apply during consideration of the item by the plenary meeting of the Committee of 24 and also when it is being considered by the Fourth Committee. I think that this would redound to the benefit of all, especially the colonial peoples.

Secondly, last year brief speeches were read out in the Subcommittee on Petitions, Information and Assistance by a handful of specialized agencies, and I think two or maybe three international organizations. This year, I am aware that three specialized agencies have taken part, and not a single international organization. Why? On pages 2 and 3 of document A/46/229, dated 10 June 1991, are included, among many others, the following specialized

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agencies: the International Labour Organisation, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the World Health Organization, the International Fund for Agricultural Development, the United Nations Children's Fund, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, the World Food Programme, the League of Arab States, the Organization of African Unity, the Organization of American States and various others. Were they made aware in time of when the subject was to be discussed? Were they reminded of their duty to take part? Did the Secretariat of the Committee of 24 communicate with them? And if not, why not? I believe that journalists have the right to receive answers to these questions. I believe that we who are the children of fatherlands which are enslaved also have the duty and the right to be informed about this.

Some might perhaps say: "They are the ones who must demonstrate their interest, they are the ones who must get in touch with us to find out when the item they should take part in is to be discussed". If anyone were to say that, I would reply: "We will get nowhere that way; to think and act in that manner is to be the plaything of imperialism and imperialist capitalists, because they are the ones who would rather the subject were not considered".

There must be greater and closer cooperation between the Committee of 24, specialized agencies and international organizations. What those institutions are doing for our enslaved peoples must be made public, in detail and accurately. It is good to applaud whatever they may be doing of true benefit to the well-being of our peoples; but what is not done or done badly, through lack of interest, laziness or bureaucratic incompetence, must be criticized and even condemned.

The petitioner withdrew.

The CHAIRMAN (interpretation from Spanish): I shall now call on representatives wishing to speak in the general debate concerning activities of foreign economic interests, military activities and the work of the specialized agencies.

Mr. SENILOLI (Fiji): My delegation is happy to see you, Sir, acting as Chairman of the Special Committee of 24 at this session. Your experience and knowlege of decolonization matters assure us that the Committee will conduct its work in an exemplary manner. We should also like to thank the delegation of Ethiopia for the way in which Ambassador Tadesse guided us through a period marked with events that will remain milestones in the Organization's decolonization process. As this is the first time I have addressed the Committee, I should like to assure you, Sir, of my delegation's continued cooperation.

The report of the working group on ways to rationalize and restructure the work of the Committee tried to incorporate all the changes proposed by delegations at last year's session of the General Assembly as well as those that emerged in the course of the working group's meetings. My delegation would again like to commend Ambassador Lohia of Papua New Guinea on the way he conducted the deliberations of the working group and on the results that were achieved.

Last week the Subcommittee on Petitions, Information and Assistance met for the last time, as it will merge with its sister body, the Subcommittee on Small Territories, on 1 January 1992. The omnibus draft resolution submitted by the Subcommittee on Small Territories was aimed at reducing much of the verbosity and the lengthy documentation of the past. The merger and the omnibus draft resolution are two ways in which this Committee has moved to

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implement the working group's report; this also indicates the willingness of members to accommodate one another's points of view. While it is true that there remain certain aspects that require improvement or elimination, it must be understood that changes acceptable to all can only come slowly.

My delegation would like to commend the cooperation rendered by those administering Powers that provided information on Non-Self-Governing Territories; we welcome their participation in the work of the Committee. We hope that others will follow in due course. Beyond the provision of information, we believe that the periodic dispatch of visiting missions to the remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories not only supplements the information provided but also gives assurances to the inhabitants of those Territories that their hopes and aspirations are being heard and can be realized. *

Foreign economic interests set up business in colonial countries primarily to realize a profit. Other considerations, irrespective of how nobly they are put, take second priority. There are many instances where conglomerates extract as much resource as they can and leave behind a hollow shell at independence. On the other hand, we have also to acknowledge the benefits some of those interests leave behind; the technology transferred on departure has formed the industrial base of these Territories. In that connection we should like to commend the efforts of the Centre on Transnational Corporations in formulating a code to regulate the conduct of those transnationals. We urge administering Powers to work in concert with those efforts so that the people of the remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories may reap maximum benefit from those foreign economic interests.

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* Mr. Slaby (Czechoslovakia), Vice-Chairman, took the Chair.

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We hope that by the end of the year the process for the referendum for Western Sahara will be in motion. We join others in wishing for the people of Western Sahara that the results attained will reflect their long-sought goals.

We from the Pacific also hope that when the forty-sixth session of the General Assembly opens next month we shall be able to welcome two more of our island nations, the Federated States of Micronesia and the Republic of the Marshall Islands, as new Members of the Organization. It is also our wish that before this decade passes we can also welcome New Caledonia into our midst. Since New Caledonia was inscribed on the list of Non-Self-Governing Territories we have been firm in our commitment to the principle that the future of the Territory must be decided by the people, with the French authorities assisting every step of the way. That commitment was again highlighted in the communiqué issued by the South Pacific Forum after its July meeting at Pohnpei in the Federated States of Micronesia.

My delegation welcomes the great changes taking place around us. Peoples long suppressed are being allowed more freedom, and moves have been set in train to help them realize their hopes and eliminate all vestiges of inequality. Events in South Africa are the major development of note. Such developments may suggest that this Committee is moving towards the end of its work. But this is also a time for vigilance if we are to ensure that the final outcome is in accord with the determination of peoples and is realized of their own free will without collusion or coercion.

Mr. MARTINEZ BOUE (Cuba) (interpretation from Spanish): I wish first of all to thank Ambassador Alarcon de Quesada for acting as Chairman

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during this important session. While this will likely involve additional work and efforts for the members of his delegation, we are convinced that his direct and personal participation in the Chair of this important Committee will constitute a decisive contribution to the success to which we all aspire, especially at a time when the Organization's work in the area of decolonization must place high on the international agenda.

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There can be no doubt that international circumstances at the time of this session are radically different from those that existed a year ago, when we held our 1990 session. Paradoxically, however, while work is being done to eliminate hotbeds of tension at the international level, while the East-West confrontation has yielded to a climate of cooperation between the major Powers, while there is talk of the rule of law and justice as a universal standard by which international relations are measured and which, we have been told, will reign urbi et orbi from now on, nevertheless many of the phenomena that have historically shaped the situation in much of the Third World remain unchanged and have sometimes grown worse.

This is so in the case of colonial problems. Today some are euphemistically saying that the Territories under colonial domination are not colonial Territories but rather Non-Self-Governing Territories. We are called upon to soften our decisions concerning the effects of foreign economic and other interests on the present and future standard of living of the peoples of the Territories under colonial domination when nothing whatsoever has changed in the practices that have for years exploited and sometimes exhausted the resources of the Territories, with very little or no benefit to the indigenous peoples. Efforts are made to prevent the Special Committee and its bodies from condemning the presence of military bases and installations of colonial Powers in the Territories under their domination, when there is reason to wonder what purpose is really served by such bases at a time when the structure of opposing blocs has disappeared and when we are being told that force has given place to the rule of law and justice. Last but not least, an attempt is being made to eliminate from the Special Committee's activities the very necessary examination and decision-making relating to the policy of

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apartheid in South Africa, where, even though progress has been made in recent years, that abominable practice still has not been dismantled.

All of this has been combined with the continuation of positions that most colonial Powers, with some honourable and praiseworthy exceptions, have taken for years towards the work of our Special Committee, positions characterized in many cases by non-cooperation bordering on neglect, an obvious example of which is the systematic refusal to receive visiting missions from this body. This year, in spite of the changes that have taken place in the world, that has happened again, as the report you gave us on this topic clearly showed. There still persists, to say the least, a culpable indifference on the part of most of the colonial Powers towards the work done by our Organization in the field of decolonization, as if the colonial situation were not part and parcel of the old world that we are now told has changed or as if there were now an understanding, no less blameworthy, to the effect that the peoples of colonial Territories have no option but to accept their fate and abandon all hope of being able to exercise effectively their inalienable right to self-determination and independence.

Our Special Committee, however, has not remained static and has acted in keeping with the times. It is well known that during the past year we successfully set up a serious and far-reaching process to improve our practices, make our work more dynamic and revitalize our structures; to that end, we even set up a working group which, under the skilful chairmanship of Ambassador Renagi Lohia, was able to achieve its goals.

Nor should we lose sight of the fact that we are now at the beginning of the United Nations Decade for the Elimination of Colonialism. We have observed, not without a certain degree of envy, that other decades proclaimed

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by our world Organization have been welcomed enthusiastically and that many activities aimed at achieving their goals are being carried on. Unfortunately this has not been the case with regard to the Decade to which we are referring now; in fact, several years after its approval by the General Assembly we still do not have a plan of action specifying the activities to be carried out at the international level in order to reach the goal of eradicating colonialism by the year 2000. The Non-Aligned Movement has taken on the task of preparing criteria on the elements that plan of action should contain, and we hope that at its upcoming meeting at the ministerial level, to be held this coming September, at Accra, Ghana, it will take decisions that will enable the General Assembly at its forty-sixth session to adopt the necessary decisions to ensure that the Decade becomes the tangible reality we all seek.

We also consider it particularly important that our Organization, through the structures it has established for the purpose, should not only continue but indeed intensify the work of providing the international information so necessary for the consolidation of a universal awareness leading to the elimination of colonialism from the face of the earth. In order to achieve this, we believe, the Department of Public Information must continue to increase the information it offers to the public on that situation through the mass communications media at its disposal, including the establishment of regional machinery, as was proposed at the Barbados and Vanuatu seminars.

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Perhaps at some point, as one of the measures included in part of the Decade on the Elimination of Colonialism, we should prepare a plan that would make it possible to achieve that goal.

Those are some of the general criteria my delegation wished to present to the Special Committee.

Finally, we should like once again to emphasize the importance that all of us, without exception, attach to the work of our body, to which we attribute the truest dimension and significance, guided as we are by the governing principle that, as long as there is colonialism in the world, as long as there is a Territory in which the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples has not yet been fully and freely implemented, as long as apartheid and racism have not been eliminated from the face of the Earth, this body will not only have its raison d'être but, indeed, will have the duty to be thorough in its analyses, accurate in its decisions and vigorous in its actions.

Mr. BYKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): On behalf of the Soviet delegation, I should like to congratulate you, Sir, and the other members of the Bureau of the Special Committee at the beginning of the session, the high point in the work of this important United Nations body. We should like to highlight the great deal of work done over the past year by the Bureau, by members of the Special Committee and by its Subcommittees on Small Territories and on Petitions, Information and Assistance.

The activities of the Committee this year, which marked the thirtieth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, would seem to be especially designed to see

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to it that, relying on the impressive results of the United Nations in the area of decolonization, we work out the parameters for further progress in this direction, taking into account the realities of the new post-confrontational period in world affairs.

The objective here is extremely clear. It is determined by a decision of the General Assembly, namely, that by the year 2000 we culminate the process of decolonization. The large number of broad positive developments which have taken place in the world gives us every reason to believe that this goal can be achieved. The growing transition towards cooperation and constructive action on the world scene and the democratization and humanization of international relations open new prospects for solving global problems, including problems of eliminating the remnants of colonialism. The independence of Namibia, which took place with the direct participation of the United Nations, quite convincingly demonstrated the enormous potential inherent in this Organization. We now see the problem of Western Sahara entering a final phase, and the central role in this development also has been played by the United Nations. We support the efforts undertaken by the Secretary-General to that end and we wish him every success.

We must also see to it that the peoples of the small island Non-Self-Governing Territories - in the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans and in the Caribbean - achieve their right to self-determination. The relatively small size of those Territories does not mean that the problem is any less serious and does not diminish the responsibility of the United Nations for the fate of those peoples or its obligations as set out in the United Nations Charter and the Declaration on decolonization. The Soviet Union favours the earliest possible and full implementation of the Declaration with regard to those Territories.

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The task of the universal enhancement of the effectiveness of the United Nations and of its bodies has become especially timely in the new stage of world politics - and this is also true in the field of decolonization. The work now under way in the Special Committee to improve its working methods is extremely important in this regard. We believe that we can already point out with satisfaction the progress that has been made possible thanks to the collective efforts of all involved. Of course, only the first steps have been taken and joint work in this regard must be continued.

Essential in this continuing process is, as we see it, the overall desire to make the greatest possible use of the potential of the United Nations in the interests of the peoples of the Non-Self-Governing Territories, bearing in mind first and foremost the earliest possible realization of their inalienable right to self-determination and freedom of choice. It is extremely important that the Special Committee stress further the joint quest for constructive and generally acceptable solutions of a practical nature and find the ways and means to achieve the earliest possible full implementation of the Declaration on decolonization. In this respect, quite obviously, we should develop and enhance as much as possible new practices and machinery in order to take into account the special features, needs and aspirations of each of the remaining Non-Self-Governing Territories and find the best possible way to promote the implementation of the Declaration.

Obviously, the effectiveness of the United Nations bodies in the area of decolonization will depend to a great extent on the nature of cooperation between the Special Committee and the respective administering Powers. Streamlining the work of this body, as has been repeatedly pointed out here,

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presupposes the expansion and intensification of that cooperation on a businesslike and constructive basis. In order to accomplish this, we shall perhaps have to overcome some prejudices that still remain from the past. It is precisely in this context that we view the issue of visiting missions to Non-Self-Governing Territories now under discussion in the Committee. There is no doubt that first-hand information on the Territories is of great value for the work of our Committee in finding more rational means to solve the problems of each specific Territory.

(Mr. Bykov, USSR)

The timely submission by the administering Powers of detailed information on the situation in each and every one of the Non-Self-Governing Territories, as provided for in the United Nations Charter, is an essential means for enhancing the effectiveness of the activities of the Special Committee and other United Nations bodies dealing with problems of decolonization. Constant attention should be focused on granting the peoples of Non-Self-Governing Territories the opportunity of informing the Special Committee of specific problems which it should consider and to which it should react.

In the light of the facts of today's world, the implementation of tasks facing the Committee requires increased joint efforts by all States to find mutually acceptable solutions which would be in the interests of the colonial peoples, which would respect the right to freedom of choice and which would provide for the many ways and forms of social and economic development and universal guarantees of human rights.

The problem of promoting social and economic development in the Non-Self-Governing Territories is closely linked to respect for the right of peoples to the use of their own natural resources. Quite rightly, this is given pride of place in the work of the Committee, which in its activities relies on the basic international documents - namely, the Charter of the United Nations, the Declaration on decolonization, and other relevant United Nations decisions.

Along with the obligation to promote the development of political institutions in the Non-Self-Governing Territories, the Administering Authorities, under the Charter, have the duty to promote in every way possible their social and economic development, due account being given to respect for the lifestyles of the peoples of those Territories and for the provision of

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assistance in developing the necessary infrastructures, training specialists and promoting local initiative and an entrepreneurial spirit. The activities of economic and other circles which help to achieve these goals and to establish a healthy economy should of course be encouraged. However, if there are foreign economic circles which are guided only by selfish interests, which allow the rapacious exploitation of the natural resources of Territories and which, in their desire for super-profits, do not take into account the interests and rights of the local population, their activities must definitely be stopped.

It is obvious that the activities of foreign economic circles in the Non-Self-Governing Territories should be brought into line with the rights and interests of the peoples inhabiting those Territories. Therefore, we agree with the demand that the activities of foreign economic circles in the Non-Self-Governing Territories be strictly controlled and effectively supervised. Of course, such measures should be put into effect with due account being taken of the importance of the rational role of foreign economic assistance and the need to integrate the economies of the relevant Territories into the world economy. In this regard, it would seem that there are significant opportunities for expanding businesslike cooperation between the Administering Authorities and the Special Committee on decolonization.

Another important aspect, which has some influence on the situation in the colonial Territories and the implementation of the Declaration on decolonization, is the involvement of some of these Territories in military activities. The position of the United Nations in this regard is very clear. As is well known, the United Nations regards the use of these Territories for military activities and for the maintenance or establishment of new military

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bases or installations as a fundamental obstacle to the implementation of the Declaration on decolonization.

With the major positive changes taking place around the world, it is time in our view to deal with ways of finding rational approaches to this question, ways which would eliminate foreign military presence and military bases in the Non-Self-Governing Territories, in line with the overall trend towards the elimination of foreign military presence in the territories of others as a whole.

As one of the countries that initiated the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples that was adopted by the United Nations, the Soviet Union has made a significant contribution to United Nations activities in this field. I should like to assure the Committee that the Soviet delegation will continue to cooperate actively with all delegations to ensure the achievement of the important objective facing our Special Committee.

The CHAIRMAN: Since no other representative wishes to speak at this stage, the Committee will continue the general debate on this item at its next meeting.

285TH REPORT OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON PETITIONS, INFORMATION AND ASSISTANCE (A/AC.109/L.1760)

The CHAIRMAN: To introduce the 285th report of the Subcommittee on Petitions, Information and Assistance, I now call on the Chairman of the Subcommittee, Mr. Renagi Renagi Lohia, Permanent Representative of Papua New Guinea to the United Nations.

Mr. LOHIA (Papua New Guinea), Chairman of the Subcommittee on Petitions, Information and Assistance: May I first take this opportunity to

(Mr. Lohia, Chairman, Subcommittee on Petitions, Information and Assistance)

welcome the new Permanent Representative of Fiji to the Committee. The excellent statement he delivered to the Committee this morning certainly demonstrates that we now have a perfect partnership in our work in the interests of the peoples of Non-Self-Governing Territories.

On behalf of the Subcommittee I have the honour to introduce its 285th - and final - report to the Special Committee, which was adopted by consensus on 1 August. In contrast to previous years, when the Subcommittee presented separate reports on each of its agenda items, the Subcommittee felt it would be more fitting this year to present a single report containing all its conclusions and recommendations for consideration and approval by the Special Committee.

During its session the Subcommittee held consultations with representatives of several specialized agencies in connection with its consideration of the implementation of the Declaration by specialized agencies and international institutions associated with the United Nations, as well as with representatives of the Department of Public Information and the Department for Special Political Questions, Regional Cooperation, Decolonization and Trusteeship with regard to the dissemination of information on decolonization.

On the basis of its consultations with specialized agencies, and within the framework of the mandate of the Special Committee, the Subcommittee adopted a number of recommendations, including the recommendation that the Special Committee consider that assistance provided by the specialized agencies not only should meet the immediate needs of the peoples of Non-Self-Governing Territories but should also create conditions conducive to

(Mr. Lohia, Chairman, Subcommittee on Petitions, Information and Assistance)

development after the peoples exercise their right to self-determination; and the recommendation that the Special Committee should further urge the specialized agencies and other organizations and institutions of the United Nations system to assist in accelerating progress in all sectors of the national life of the small Territories.

The Subcommittee expressed its appreciation to those specialized agencies that appeared before it for their cooperation and for their important contribution to its work.

(Mr. Lohia, Chairman, Subcommittee on Petitions, Information and Assistance)

In the light of its consultations with the Department of Public Information and the Department for Special Political Questions, Regional Cooperation, Decolonization and Trusteeship, the Subcommittee recommends, among other things, that the Special Committee should reiterate the importance of the widest possible dissemination of information on decolonization in furthering the purposes and principles of the Charter and the Declaration and in mobilizing world opinion in support of peoples striving to achieve self-determination, freedom and independence; that it should reiterate the great importance it attaches to the work of the Department for Special Political Questions, Regional Cooperation, Decolonization and Trusteeship and urge that Department to continue to discharge its mandate; and that it should request the Department of Public Information, among other things, to continue to intensify its publicity in the field of decolonization, basing its activities on the Charter and the Plan of Action for the Full Implementation of the Declaration, contained in General Assembly resolution 35/118, as well as the items on the agenda of the Special Committee and all relevant resolutions and decisions of the General Assembly.

The Subcommittee examined a total of six petitions and agreed to grant the requests for hearing made therein. As regards consultations with intergovernmental organizations concerning questions of information and assistance and consultations with non-governmental organizations on questions relating to the implementation of the Declaration, the Subcommittee deferred consideration of these items pending further review of its work. I commend this report for your approval.

(Mr. Lohia, Chairman, Subcommittee on Petitions, Information and Assistance)

In closing, I would like to reiterate that for a period of almost two decades the Subcommittee on Petitions, Information and Assistance, of which I had the honour to be the last Chairman, was instrumental not only in facilitating contacts between the Special Committee and the liberation movements but also - and more importantly - in arousing world public opinion and support in favour of the decolonization process. Thus, the coming merger of the Subcommittee with the Subcommittee on Small Territories does not imply that the functions that have been carried out for 20 years by the Subcommittee can now be dispensed with. On the contrary, there is still a pressing need to keep the international community and public opinion abreast of the progress achieved in the field of decolonization, to hear petitioners and to have continuing consultations with specialized agencies and non-governmental and regional organizations. We expect that the merger will not derogate from any of the functions that have been within the mandate of the Subcommittee but will, rather, contribute to accelerating the pace of decolonization even more.

The CHAIRMAN: I thank the Chairman of the Subcommittee for his introductory remarks and for having brought the work of the Subcommittee to a successful conclusion. I wish also to thank all the members of the Subcommittee for their constructive contributions to the work of the Subcommittee.

The Committee will continue its consideration of the report at a subsequent meeting with a view to taking action thereon.

QUESTION OF NEW CALEDONIA (A/AC.109/1079 and A/AC.109/L.1766)

The CHAIRMAN: I should like to remind members that the Committee has before it a working paper prepared by the Secretariat, contained in document A/AC.109/1079. The Committee also has before it a draft resolution on the item, contained in document A/AC.109/L.1766. Members will recall that at its 1381st meeting on 1 August, and at the outset of this meeting, the Committee granted requests for hearing relating to this item.

At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Yann Celene Uregei (Front Uni de Libération Kanak) took a place at the petitioners' table.

The CHAIRMAN: I now call on Mr. Uregei.

Mr. UREGEI (interpretation from French): Speaking in my capacity of Secretary-General of the Front Uni de Libération Kanak (FULK), I should like first of all to thank the Chairman personally, as well as the other members of the Committee, for granting me the opportunity to address the Committee of 24 once again. The re-election of the Chairman shows the complete confidence that all members have in him, owing to his dedication to the responsibilities incumbent upon him. In so doing, the Committee showed itself tireless in trying to find solutions for the decolonization of New Caledonia and its accession to independence.

France possesses enormous interests in New Caledonia and in the South Pacific region. This is in fact what is at stake in its colonial and imperialist policy in that part of the world. Any political statute such as the Matignon Agreements imposed on the Kanak people by colonial France, be it from the right or the left, is designed primarily to safeguard the interests of French imperialism in New Caledonia and in the South Pacific region.

(Mr. Uregei)

Once again we come before the Committee to take stock of the Matignon Agreements, which have now been in force three years. Do they really still exist? Tjibaou has died; Prime Minister Michel Rocard, who sponsored these agreements, has resigned; and the Parti Libération Kanak Socialiste withdrew from the Matignon Agreements, because France succeeded in making those in favour of independence accomplices in denigrating Kanak independence. There remains then the President of the RPCR, Jacques Lafleur, who has already proposed a statutory consensus for autonomy because, according to him, the 1998 referendum will not solve anything.

The FLNKS, which signed the Matignon Agreements, is pursuing a policy that is contradictory in local, regional and international terms. Alone, it bore the heavy responsibility for enlisting international support for French colonialism, a policy that does not at all guarantee the independence of the Kanaks, which it recognizes itself. It has used the word development in order to pursue a policy of demobilizing the Kanak people, and it has played into the hands of French colonialism.

(Mr. Uregei)

I would like to offer you the following statement, three years after the Matignon Agreements were signed. The Kanak people has become demobilized in its liberation struggle. It has turned its back on the FLNKS, which signed the Matignon Agreements at its tenth congress, in Koindé-Ouipoin, and at its Poindimié convention. There were only 150 delegates at the FLNKS congress, three years after the implementation of the Matignon Agreements, whereas before the Agreements were signed, 4,000 delegates participated at the Arama FLNKS convention. This is a record of failure which proves that the FLNKS has gone off course, but persists in wishing to hold to the Matignon Agreements.

The FLNKS is no longer representative. Can it still legitimately claim to represent the Kanak people, who have strongly condemned its policy, a policy which is neutralizing their liberation struggle? It is carrying out French colonialism's plan by trying to take over the lands belonging to the Kanak people collectively in the name of development and to the detriment of the Kanaks concerned. This is a serious problem which has led to a serious traditional conflict in the Lossi district, where the mayor of the commune has been banned from his own district.

The taking over of Kanak land by subterfuge has been and remains the policy of the colonial right, which well knows that it is from this collective land that the Kanak people draw their strength for their liberation struggle. Ways must therefore by found to dislodge the Kanaks through unbridled development, the better to integrate them into the colonial system. The takeover of Kanak collective property is part of the colonial assimilation and integration plan directed against Kanaky independance.

(Mr. Uregei)

Currently, the Kanaks are seeing that their customs and their rights are in danger. Article 60 of the referendum law takes away control over land and development from the traditional people. The Matignon Agreements have set everybody against each other by introducing unbridled development through new institutional structures. The Matignon Agreements spell destruction for our cultures and our customs. They are a requiem for the Kanak people. The genius of Michel Rocard lies in having carried off the tour de force of having an anti-independence, anti-tradition policy applied by the independence lobby itself.

As regards the statutory autonomy consensus proposed by Jacques Lafleur on behalf of the RPCR, that has already been condemned many a time by the FULK, before the Special Committee and the Fourth Committee, given that the composition of the electorate for the 1998 self-determination ballot has been so determined as to favour maintaining the French colonial presence in Kanaky, with, as a statutory next step, status as a State in association with France, as under the Lemoine statute or the Pisani plan, which will enable French imperialism to continue exploiting the country for its own sole benefit.

The RPCR, which is sure of its victory in the 1998 referendum, proposed to the FLNKS, at its convention of 28 April 1991, that they should discuss, in the best possible conditions for dialogue, a statutory autonomy consensus before the 1998 referendum and after the 1995 provincial elections. French colonialism has set a trap for the FLNKS in order to achieve, before the referendum, what will happen after it. To do this, the FLNKS must be involved in the 1995 provincial elections, that is to say, it must be kept within the institutions which emerged from the Matignon Agreements before the official

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discussion on autonomy is begun, without forgetting the fact that the elections for the legislature are to take place meantime, in 1993. If the present majority remains, the RPCR will have an easy task carrying on with its consensus politics, so dear to Mitterrand. If the majority changes, Jacques Chirac, on behalf of the RPR, has already stated that he will support the statutory consensus on internal autonomy.

This selfsame Jacques Chirac, when he was Prime Minister, declared in May 1975, to the official mission from the Territorial Assembly, which had come to Paris to ask for autonomy, that internal autonomy was outdated and that, if there was a choice to be made, it must be the choice between the status of a French département or independence.

Although it puts itself forward as a good player of the consensus politics of the presidential majority, the RPCR is preparing to get out of the Matignon Agreements, and when the time is right, will withdraw from the Matignon Agreements because it has no desire for a referendum.

On 26 July 1991, during the visit by the Minister responsible for France's overseas territories and départements, the president of the RPCR approved the idea put forward on 25 July 1991 by the President of the Caledonian Union, one of the components of the FLNKS, to the effect that the 1998 referendum should be quite simply a referendum to ratify the statutory consensus.

The same political manoeuvre was used in 1988 to get the Matignon Agreements signed. Jean-Marie Tjibaou signed the Matignon Agreements as President of the Caledonian Union. This signing has been rejected twice by the FLNKS at two conventions. Previously, the current President of the

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Caledonian Union, François Burck, has promoted, in the press, the idea of independence partnership and independence-association, after which the RPCR put forward the idea of statutory consensus.

The French Government is no stranger to this political manoeuvre because, since the Matignon Agreements, it has got used to making use of the Caledonian Union to impose its colonial and anti-independence policy from within the FLNKS.

Without indulging in racism, it would be a good idea to stress that, on the instigation of the French colonial Government, two European leaders, François Burck and Jacques Lafleur, are arrogating to themselves the right to decide the political future of the Kanak country without taking into account the legitimate demands of the Kanak people.

All of this goes to show what a sordid political situation those from the FLNKS who signed the Matignon Agreements have led the Kanak people's liberation struggle into. We say so with reason, and we wish to repeat that the Matignon Agreements are postponing the real problems of today for 10 years, after the FLNKS has carried out a policy of demobilizing the Kanak people.

On the social level, never have we seen so many social conflicts since the Matignon Agreements were put in place, especially in the three provinces. There are strikes almost every week in various sectors of the economy. The decolonization process provided for in the Matignon Agreements is a fraud, because, after three years in which they have been implemented, the Kanak people, whose social situation has not changed, is coming up against more and more problems to do with traditions and land, because of unbridled development.

On the occasion of its visit to New Caledonia, we informed the South Pacific Forum, on 17 July 1991, that its support for independance for

(Mr. Uregei)

New Caledonia was being swallowed up by French colonialism's plan against Kanak independence. We also informed it that, knowing that the Matignon Agreements do not guarantee Kanak independence, some South Pacific Forum countries were perfectly happy to see this contradictory position on the part of the FLNKS continue because they would rather have their diplomatic and commercial relations with France, and even with the European countries. The opening of the Common Market in 1992 will strengthen the grip of French imperialism in the country. New Caledonia will become a part of Europe and will be colonized by the 12 member States of the European Economic Community.

(Mr. Uregei)

Despite the Decade for the Eradication of Colonialism, France has managed by dictatorial and anti-democratic means, and in order to protect its own interests, to put in place in New Caledonia a 10-year plan for the recolonization and integration of the Kanak people. We have continually denounced this trap laid by the socialist Government.

On the basis of the failure of the policy of FLNKS, which signed the Matignon Agreements, FULK - which favours immediate Kanak independence - has called on the entire Kanak people throughout Kanaky to restore its unity through a General People's Congress to be convened on 25 January 1992 at Lifou. That People's Congress is part of the Kanak people's Plan for Society, which recognizes that power belongs solely to the Kanak people in a people's democracy free from the political labels that have hoodwinked and trapped the Kanak people. Our land and our customs will be the sacred tools with which we find the true path to popular unity. The General Congress will debate and decide on two important subjects: the foundations of the unity of the Kanak people linked to its land and its customs in the framework of the Plan for Society, and the independence plan for the Kanak people.

In January 1991 at Barcelona, at a world congress of political and trade union forces committed to the defence of the right of peoples to self-determination, the representatives of 53 countries were informed about the political situation in New Caledonia. A proposal was made to establish an independent commission of inquiry, composed of French jurists and physicians, on the present situation in New Caledonia. This legally and publicly constituted commission will hand down its verdict in September. It will then travel to New Caledonia to report on its work and on its conclusions.

(Mr. Uregei)

We appreciated greatly the visiting mission sent by the South Pacific Forum to examine political developments in New Caledonia. We hope that it will report to the South Pacific Forum, or even to the United Nations, on the true political situation in our country. We take this opportunity, following the visit by the Forum's mission, to invite the decolonization Committee to send a mission of inquiry as part of its programme on the complete implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. We hope that the French Government, which welcomed the Forum's mission, will do likewise with respect to a mission dispatched by the Special Committee of 24.

We have the verification report of the Agence de développement rural et d'aménagement foncier prepared by the Inspector of Finance, Mr. François Asselineau. That report was submitted to the French Government in February 1989 but has not been published, as was originally contemplated. In July 1989, rather than being clapped in jail, the principal thieves of public funds were elected to mayoralties and to the Territory's congress. The report still has not been acted upon. The Matignon Agreements too are agreements between the French Government and the local mafia. We want to submit that report to the Committee in accordance with the normal procedure, so that members can become acquainted with it. We request that it should be circulated as an official United Nations document to all Members.

Mr. Uregei withdrew.

The CHAIRMAN: The Committee will continue hearings on this item at a subsequent meeting.

QUESTION OF EAST TIMOR

The CHAIRMAN: The Committee has before it a working paper prepared by the Secretariat (A/AC.109/1072 and Corr.1 and Add.1), as well as related communications.

I wish to inform members that I have received a request from the delegation of Cape Verde to be permitted to take part in the proceedings relating to East Timor. In conformity with established practice, if I hear no objection, I shall now invite the delegation of Cape Verde to take a place at the Committee table.

At the invitation of the Chairman, the delegation of Cape Verde took a place at the Committee table.

The CHAIRMAN: I call on the representative of Indonesia.

Mr. SRIWIDJAJA (Indonesia): Having already stated earlier this session its objections concerning the substance of aides-mémoire 12/91 and Add.1, my delegation reaffirms its strong opposition to the participation of the petitioners mentioned therein in the work of the Committee.

The CHAIRMAN: By decisions taken at the 1381st meeting, held on 1 August 1991, and at the outset of this meeting, the Committee granted requests for hearing contained in aides-mémoire 12/91 and Add.1.

At the invitation of the Chairman, Ms. Beryl Gaffney (Parliamentarians for East Timor) took a place at the Committee table.

The CHAIRMAN: I call on Ms. Gaffney.

Ms. GAFFNEY: As a member of Canada's Parliament and as the Liberal Party Critic for Human Rights in Canada, I should like to express my gratitude to the Special Committee on decolonization for giving me the opportunity to speak in support of the many friends of East Timor.

(Ms. Gaffney)

East Timor geographically is thousands of miles from here, and it would be easy for us in North America to dismiss the Timorese atrocities as being none of our concern. However, with the advent of world-wide telecommunications and travel, the world has become a much smaller place. We are now on each other's doorsteps, and the problems of the East Timorese and like peoples are very much our business. That is why we are here, and that is why we have a United Nations: to do something about it.

Since the Indonesian invasion of East Timor some 15 years ago, the reports of killings, oppression and abuses of human rights have reached a scale that is unconscionable in a civilized world. In 1975 that tiny nation was struggling towards independence and self-determination after the disintegration of the Portuguese empire, only to be invaded when it was at its weakest moment in history.

The people of East Timor have suffered one of the most ruthless attacks in modern history. On a per capita basis the atrocities committed against that small population of less than a million people are higher in number than those committed by, as an example, the Khmer Rouge. As much as one third of the population of that tiny South Pacific island has perished owing to the initial war and subsequent acts of violence, starvation and disease perpetrated by the Indonesian army against the Timorese people.

This is a holocaust. This is genocide in its worst form. We would not allow it in our own countries, so why are we sitting back and allowing it to happen in East Timor?

(Ms. Gaffney)

Amnesty International in its 1990-91 report verifies these atrocities. It claims there are serious doubts about the fairness of the trials. It is increasingly concerned over a pattern of short-term detention, ill-treatment and torture of alleged political opponents of Indonesian rule. This pattern has actually gained momentum since August 1990. Amnesty International has repeatedly asked to be allowed to enter East Timor and continues to be denied this access.

Indonesia, by its invasion and occupation of East Timor, has embarked on gross violations of the United Nations two most basic principles of integrity of territory and of the right to self-determination. Now the Government of Indonesia is mounting a more pervasive assault on the East Timorese through such methods as an aggressive birth control programme, carefully planned infrastructure development and so-called resettlement programmes - in essence a slow and deliberate genocide.

As a woman, a woman parliamentarian, I find Indonesia's method of enforced family planning absolutely repugnant. I recognize the importance of family planning if it is an honest choice of the persons involved. However, the way in which the programme is carried out in East Timor - by force - is but another example of the unacceptable way in which a people held prisoner under this unwelcome military occupation are being treated by their guards.

Consider that this is already a country where one third of its people, mostly males, have been slaughtered; where female students are purportedly being injected with a dangerous contraceptive. Consider also another insidious form of genocide, that is, prevention of the propagation of a race.

We pride ourselves on our understanding of the crucial importance of a people being free and equal under law, and we have tried, through organizations, such as this United Nations, to see that others in less

(Ms. Gaffney)

fortunate situations and locales can also enjoy basic human rights. We try, but we sometimes fail. We hope and pray that the winds of change are about to blow in East Timor.

Indonesia must be condemned for its disregard of and disrespect for the rights of the East Timorese to self-determination and independence, along with the constant verifications of violations of fundamental human rights. In 1989 Pope John Paul II, when visiting East Timor, also condemned in the strongest terms the invasion of East Timor and called for a halt to the aggression. And yet we know that there has not been an improvement. We continue to learn of ongoing oppression and violence such as the arrests and torture that immediately followed the Pope's visit.

In 1990, Indonesia was elected to membership of the United Nations Human Rights Commission, and we see its representative present here this morning. The Special Committee can rest assured that Indonesia will do everything in its power to render useless any initiatives or resolutions in support of East Timor that come before the Commission. The Commission itself must be encouraged to take strong action on any recommendations that come before it from the Sub-Commission.

The United Nations has requested the Indonesian authorities to facilitate access to the territory by international humanitarian and developmental organizations. The Commission has also appealed to all sides to be guided by the spirit of dialogue and negotiation. Indonesia has ignored this plea.

My country, Canada, has also been accused of participating in an international cover-up. For countries like Canada and Australia to continue to do business with Indonesia is a breach of their obligation to accept and apply Security Council resolutions regarding East Timor's right to self-government and respect for territorial sovereignty.

(Ms. Gaffney)

Canada is a relatively new player at these hearings. I am the third Canadian parliamentarian to appear before the Special Committee on behalf of East Timor. I and others will continue to speak out, both at home and abroad, until there is a change in this situation.

Why does my Government refuse to recognize just what the invasion and occupation have meant? Canada has voted against United Nations resolutions calling for the right to self-determination. It has lobbied to have the issue removed from the agenda. But my party, the Liberal Party, has spoken on this matter on the floor of the House of Commons. We have asked why Canada's third largest recipient of foreign aid is Indonesia. We have asked whether it is because there are approximately 300 Canadian companies, from large ones like Inco, operating in Indonesia.

May I be so bold as to suggest that any country that is doing business with Indonesia and is not participating in actions against the aggressor does so because of the very high level of economic investment and trade in that country. To address the human rights abuses would be at the peril of losing important trade and economic benefits.

At the forty-seventh session on human rights held in Geneva earlier this year, Canada's representative at the Commission, Ambassador Raynelle Andreychuk stated:

> "With regard to Indonesia, Canada welcomes recent initiatives, such as the United Nations-sponsored Conference on Human Rights held in that country on 21 and 22 January".

These are encouraging signs of Indonesia's new commitment to human rights observance.

She went on to say,

(Ms. Gaffney)

"We regret, however, that unhindred access to East Timor by international non-governmental organizations is not yet possible. We also regret the continued allegations of human rights abuses in East Timor and elsewhere in the country, and urge Indonesia to address the problems of excessive force, arbitrary arrest and disappearances that have occurred over the last year".

The United Nations must encourage its member countries to develop coherent policies which link international human rights to aid, trade and refugee determinations. Observance of human rights must be a basic criterion for foreign aid. The human rights performance of recipient countries should be subject to public review and should enter into official development assistance allocation decisions. In other words: Indonesia, clean up your act or be cut off from foreign aid. To do otherwise is to bring shame upon the donor country.

Last year, when the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait moved the Security Council into adopting a string of resolutions, we watched virtually the entire international community mount a campaign to remove one aggressor, Iraq, from an invasion-occupation situation in Kuwait. We are possibly seeing the end of apartheid and strides towards self-determination in South Africa. We are working towards a peaceful solution amongst the nations in the Middle East.

What must the East Timorese be thinking? They are still an occupied territory. War rages on; genocide is alive and well. And yet the United Nations remains on the sidelines, lacking the political will to uphold the Charter. It is as if the United Nations is saying:

"Let's close our eyes to naughty Indonesia. You are a bad child, but you have lots of toys, so we will just pretend you are a good clean player".

(Ms. Gaffney)

The hypocrisy! The audacity to deny relief to a suffering people is the shame of us all -

The CHAIRMAN: I must apologize for interrupting. The representative of Iraq has asked to speak on a point or order and I now call on him.

Mr. KADRAT (Iraq) (interpretation from Arabic): I apologize for asking to speak, but the petitioner is talking about a subject that has nothing to do with our Committee's work here. The subject she broached has nothing to do with this Committee.

The CHAIRMAN: I would request the petitioner to continue her statement, bearing in mind the agenda item under discussion.

Ms. GAFFNEY: In closing, I have hope. The world community must hold Indonesia to account. The Special Committee on decolonization holds the key. The East Timorese community cannot survive a continual campaign of violence. The Committee must work towards the withdrawal of these troops from East Timor. The East Timorese people must then be allowed to decide their own future. In reviewing the presentations before the Committee for the previous two years I notice that we continually make the same requests, and yet nothing is done. Committee members: the door is now open to you. You have opened the door yourselves in Kuwait, South Africa and the Middle East. Allow the East Timorese to get to the door also.

Again, I thank the Special Committee for the opportunity to make this presentation. I hope its deliberations will be positive, so much so that I and all others making these presentations here today will not have to come back next year.

The petitioner withdrew.

At the invitation of the Chairman, Mr. Michel Robert (Mouvement contre le racisme et pour l'amitié entre les peuples and l'Association de solidarité avec le Timor oriental) took a place at the petitioners' table.

The CHAIRMAN: I now call on Mr. Robert.

Mr. ROBERT (interpretation from French): I sincerely thank the Committee for having agreed to hear us once again on the question of East Timor. It will soon be 16 years since Indonesia occupied that small Territory, whose people still wishes to enjoy the benefits of General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV).

The Mouvement contre le racisme et pour l'amitié entre les peuples, which I represent here, could not ignore the suffering of a people which aspires to live in freedom. But to date, the peoples have not counted for much in international relations and very often have been playthings in the hands of States, because States and not peoples are the subjects of international law. Jurists, in the vast majority, in fact consider that peoples, as such, cannot receive legal expression.

Things seem to be changing today. International law is evolving and changing, and some are even talking about the "right of interference" or the "duty to interfere", thereby overturning the sacrosanct principle of the sovereignty of States.

Nevertheless, experience has shown quite clearly that there are such profound contradictions between the peoples and the States that officially represent them that international law governing relations among States can become mere fiction, if not a fraud. The resolutions of the bodies of the United Nations will be useless pieces of paper if they fail to recognize that those who are truly involved are peoples and individuals.

(Mr. Robert)

But here again things are changing. The Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Perez de Cuellar, indeed recently declared to a delegation of "Parliamentarians for East Timor" that all United Nations resolutions on East Timor were relevant and should be implemented. The Committee also knows that the Government of Indonesia, from the outset, has flouted those resolutions, since it never wished to implement resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV), which Jakarta had nevertheless elaborated. But it is true that Indonesia today is no longer the Indonesia of Bandung. The Indonesian Government affirms that the decolonization process in East Timor was culminated on 17 July 1976, when the population of the Territory decided, through the intermediary of a so-called people's representative assembly, to achieve independence through integration with Indonesia. Its representative to the United Nations added:

> "The people of East Timor thus exercised its right to self-determination under the provisions of General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV)."

I would not like to go into all of the arguments I advanced before the Committee a few years ago. I shall simply point out that, while it is true that independence or association with another State is not the only way for a Territory to cease to be non-self-governing, and while integration with an independent State is one of the solutions mentioned in resolution 1541 (XV), integration must none the less result from the freely expressed will of the populations of the Territory. But military intervention has made the process of integration completely illegal from the standpoint of international law. Furthermore, the illegal nature of annexation also stems from the fact that the so-called people's assembly which advocated annexation was not elected through normal means but was set up by the Indonesian Government. The island

(Mr. Robert)

today is, therefore, as in the past, a veritable colony of Indonesia. Cultural oppression, violations of human rights and discrimination of all types are the fruit of Indonesian integration.

It is clear that the population of East Timor does not consider that integration has solved the problem of decolonization of the Territory. A recent report drawn up by researchers from one of the most renowned Indonesian universities, the Gajah Mada University of Djodjakarta, on the island of Java, is proof of this. The team that carried out the study went to East Timor in 1981 and in 1989. It was therefore able to make several comparisons between those two periods. Led by Mr. Mobyarto, Economics Professor at the University and Director of the Development Centre, the researchers worked in the districts of Ermera and Amaro, in the western part of East Timor, which the Indonesian authorities say are peaceful and where the conditions are considered to be better than in the eastern and central regions.

This long report of 130 pages, which gave rise to discontent on the part of the Indonesian authorities, concludes that the population of East Timor is still traumatized by the integration experience of 1976 and that the "harsh and authoritarian" policy - I quote from the report - has yielded few results for development. According to the Indonesian newspaper Kompas, "the success of material development in East Timor has not reduced local political, social and economic problems". The report also states:

> "Apathy and indifference of the population in the face of progress shows not only that there is no reciprocal adapation between us and the Timorians but also and above all that they increasingly and quite naturally refuse to accept our presence."

(Mr. Robert)

On page 114 of the same report, it is emphasized that:

"The Timorians do not accept the official statements claiming that the Portuguese colonial era was one of obscurantism, while the Indonesian era is one of enlightenment."

The report also notes that the rapid changes which gave rise to "cultural shock" among the Timorians, who were forced to learn the language and history of Indonesia, study the Pancasila and learn by heart the names of Indonesian heroes.

The report also speaks of families coming from Indonesia which, from the time that the Territory was opened, have come to settle and have "inundated" East Timor. There is a great deal of distrust, the report concludes, with regard to these newcomers.

In mentioning the profound discontent among Timorians, even those who work in the Administration, the report emphasizes what it calls "an overdose of military presence", not only in the physical sense but also in terms of its domination. "There is a feeling of hatred with regard to the military", the report states. And we can understand the Timorians, because the repression continues. There is a climate of terror in East Timor. The Governor of East Timor himself, Mr. Carrascalao, stated: "Many people are now observing an informal curfew."

Arrests and torture continue. We have proof of this in the approximately 100 pages of information which have come to us on human rights violations in East Timor between October 1990 and January 1991. Never have we had so much information coming directly from that Territory, occupied by Indonesia in 1975 and isolated until 1989.

(Mr. Robert)

The visit of the Pope, that of the Ambassador of the United States and that of the Papal Nuncio offered opportunities for the Timorians to express their refusal to accept the annexation of their Territory by Indonesia.

In order to avoid a repetition of these demonstrations, the Indonesian military has increased its oppression. Masked squadrons made up of civilians and the military have been sowing terror in Dili, the capital, and have been attacking mostly young people who are known for their opposition to Indonesian occupation. Lieutenant Colonel Purwanto, Commander of the Indonesian Secret Service in Timor, has even asked the military commanders to confirm the killing of 27 civilians in 1989, as well as the disappearance of 54 Timorians - killings and disappearances that were attributed to the Indonesian armed forces.

From the long list of arrests, I would draw attention to those of the many students who dared to show their opposition to integration. This situation is strangely reminiscent of that of many peoples in Europe who experienced the terrible years of the Second World War under Nazi occupation.

One speaks a great deal today of regained freedom, of the right of peoples to self-determination. Let us see to it that this new factor, this wind of change which has brought about the fall of many totalitarian or imperialist regimes, will finally reach East Timor. Let us not relegate to the dungeon the people of East Timor.

A major French daily asked the question a few months ago: "Can we still believe in the United Nations?" I would say "yes". I have always believed in it; that is what I tell my students. Yes, one must believe in the United Nations so that Timor may live.

(Mr. Robert)

The Committee will soon celebrate its thirtieth anniversary. Indeed, it was on 27 November 1961 that the General Assembly in resolution 1654 (XVI) decided to establish a special committee to ensure the implementation of the Declaration. In that resolution, the Assembly directed

> "the Special Committee to carry out its task by employment of all means which it will have at its disposal within the framework of the procedures and modalities which it shall adopt for the proper discharge of its functions;" (General Assembly resolution 1654 (XVI), para. 5)

In other words, the Committee was given all the latitude to decide on its own operational rules and its own means of action. It is interesting to note that Indonesia made its contribution to the quest for the best possible way to implement the Declaration. During the eighteenth session of the General Assembly, in 1963, Indonesia even insisted that the Committee should be willing to go to a Territory at the request of its population to help it to exercise its right to self-determination freely.

It was in that spirit - the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations and of the Declaration - that we endorsed the request made by Monsignor Belo, the Apostolic Administrator of Dili, to the Secretary-General, Mr. Perez de Cuellar, to organize a referendum in order to

> "set in motion in Timor the decolonization process which would be the most normal and the most democratic ..., for the decolonization process in Portuguese Timor has not yet been completed by the United Nations and it would be a good idea not to relegate it to oblivion".

We should like to endorse also the statement made by the representative of Indonesia to this Committee very recently, two days ago, on 5 August. I have copied the press release, which summarizes his statement in this way:

(Mr. Robert)

the representative of Indonesia stressed that in view of the profound changes in the current international situation, the Committee must now, more than ever before, accelerate the attainment of the aspirations of the peoples that wish to accede to greater independence. The Special Committee must take advantage of this favourable situation in order to eliminate the last vestiges of colonialism, particularly in the Caribbean and the South Pacific. The administering Powers must undertake to promote the development of the Non-Self-Governing and colonial Territories and must put an end to all activities hindering the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

There cannot be two yardsticks, one for oneself and another for others. There can be only one international law and it must be applied.

The petitioner withdrew.

At the invitation of the Chairman, Ms. Carmel Budiardjo (TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign) took a place at the petitioners' table.

The CHAIRMAN: I now call on Ms. Budiardjo.

Ms. BUDIARDJO: On behalf of TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign, I want to thank the Chairman and members for this opportunity to petition the Committee about East Timor.

Our organization has monitored developments in East Timor since the Indonesian invasion in 1975. I should like to highlight recent developments in East Timor, looking at some features of Indonesian rule and occupation.

Ever since East Timor was "opened up" by the Indonesian authorities at the end of 1988, or to use another euphemism "brought into line with other provinces", the flow of information has actually improved. This is one of the few positive results of "opening-up"; otherwise, nothing has changed: East Timor is an Indonesian colony and a project of the Indonesian armed forces.

(Ms. Budiardjo)

"Opening-up" was initiated and endorsed by President Suharto as a move to polish the image of East Timor abroad. But the Indonesian military and police, who are responsible for security and order in East Timor, have never been happy with the move and continue with their normal activities. An Irish journalist who visited East Timor as a tourist this year witnessed the arrival and departure of Indonesian troops. Thanks to "opening-up", outsiders have seen evidence of troop movements and military operations which were formerly easier to hide. In contrast to former days, recent visitors who have entered as tourists have enjoyed greater freedom of movement and less control at military checkpoints. Those visitors who have made a point of contacting local people confirm that the vast majority of East Timorese are staunchly in favour of national independence. Such visits have been used by the Timorese to channel reports of human rights abuses, arrests and torture.

But official visits have been carefully supervised. When a delegation of Australian parliamentarians visited East Timor earlier this year, they were

> "continuously supervised by a number of military intelligence and government officials wherever we travelled".

The parliamentarians were informed by Bishop Belo that

> "a number of leaders of the resistance movement had been rounded up and imprisoned before our arrival. We had expected a demonstration to occur ... but the presence of security forces was so heavy that I was not surprised that none did occur."

That is a statement made by Mr. Gary Gibson and quoted in the Daily House Hansard, of 17 April 1991.

Yet even so, Timorese resistance activists managed to hand documents to the Australian MPs from the resistance, as well as a written statement about

(Ms. Budiardjo)

torture. Abilio Mesquita, a student, wrote about his arrest and maltreatment in October for involvement in demonstrations. During interrogation, he was stripped naked, given electric shocks, beaten all over the body with an iron rod, and suffered a broken jaw. The MPs observed that the youth were leading a new wave of protests against Indonesian rule in the towns.

Thanks to the "opening-up", it was also possible for the Australian lawyer Robert Domm to enter East Timor as a tourist last September and meet the guerrilla leader Xanana Gusmao in the mountainous interior. This encounter took months to prepare and it resulted in a unique interview with Xanana. It symbolized the end of 15 years of isolation for the East Timorese resistance in the bush. Robert Domm's trip would not have been possible without the help of hundreds of Timorese in the towns and villages. According to Domm, the organized resistance exists everywhere - in the towns, in the tiniest villages, even at the top of the Indonesian Administration.

East Timorese resistance is no longer confined to armed resistance. The "opening-up" has facilitated the emergence of political resistance in the towns, along with a new defiance among East Timorese students living and studying in different parts of Indonesia, particularly in Java and Bali.

Activists in East Timor have used several occasions to show their defiance of Indonesian rule. A visit by United States Ambassador John Monjo in January 1990 was used to highlight East Timor's demand for self-determination. Incidents in several secondary schools in September and October 1990 were an unmistakable sign of a vibrant political movement amongst the youth. The Indonesian flag was torn and anti-Indonesian slogans were written on the walls. The incidents were reported by the foreign media because the clandestine front sent information out. The October events were recorded by a group of diplomats who happened to be visiting East Timor at the time.

(Ms. Budiardjo)

Thanks to greatly improved channels of communication, East Timor solidarity groups have received many detailed reports about Indonesian military operations, human rights abuses and political detainees, along with an impressive collection of photographs.

The East Timorese resistance movement has adjusted well to the new circumstances provided by the so-called opening-up, developing new ways to express their political aspirations. But conditions for the Timorese have not changed. Peoples' fear of retribution by the security forces dominate everyday life and freedom to travel is still very restricted. The defection of four East Timorese soccer players during a tour to Australia in May this year recalls the days of the Iron Curtain and the Berlin Wall when people fled to the West.

"Opening-up" has placed the security forces on the horns of a dilemma. The policy serves an important purpose in the world of democracy, as it gives the impression that Indonesia is fully in control and has nothing to hide. This has obliged the security forces to adopt a hearts-and-minds policy, the persuasive approach rather than repression. With outsiders present, they must avoid too much open confrontation, a kind of kid-glove management of daily life. At army headquarters in Dili, there is a huge drawing of a soldier slapping a Timorese youngster in the face, above which are written the words "no beating". But the reality is different, especially at times when people tear up the Indonesian flag and show their defiance in other ways. Then the gloves are off and things go back to arrests, beatings and other atrocities. At moments like this the security forces must act, regardless of whether tourists or other observers are there to see.

(Ms. Budiardjo)

It is a fact that Indonesian security and intelligence officers know a lot about the strategy and tactics of the resistance from captured documents and from information extracted during the interrogation and torture of captured guerrillas. But it is equally true that many Indonesian military documents fall into the hands of the East Timorese resistance. Both sides monitor and adjust their strategies accordingly. These intelligence leaks also help us to assess developments inside. Allow me to share some of these observations with the Committee.

The Indonesian military operation conducted throughout 1990 is called "Operasi Moris Diak II". We know from the documents we have been able to examine that Operasi Moris Diak II was aimed at capturing the leadership of the resistance, in particular Xanana Gusmao. It is a counter-insurgency operation involving the deployment of crack troops, an opportunity for training in this - for Indonesia - new strategy of counter-insurgency. The operation has been waged continuously since early 1990. Unlike previous military operations that tended to last from six to eight weeks, deploying a wide variety of Indonesian territorial troops, the present operation uses from 2,000 to 3,000 Indonesian commandos that are constantly on the move. The commandos live like guerrillas, set up bivouacs of their own and roam the hilly countryside, hunting for guerrillas. At certain moments of intensity, more territorial troops are sent in to back up the counter-insurgency troops, reinforcing the army's presence in the villages and resettlement camps.

The Timorese resistance sustained heavy losses in September and October 1990, when several close aides of Xanana Gusmao were killed in battle. Despite the difficulties, Falintil, the armed wing of the resistance, has managed to maintain its structure in four regional units.

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The resistance has restructured its organization to give greater focus to the political movement and clandestine front in the towns. Its political leadership has remained intact and the new structure is geared towards waging campaigns in the cities, including Indonesian cities, where many Timorese are studying at universities.

There has also been restructuring on the Indonesian side. The counter-insurgency operations are under the control of Kolakops, the new operational command created when Koopskam was disbanded in December 1989. The secrecy that covers military operations in East Timor makes it difficult to assess the difference between these two commands, but one thing we do know is that the commander of Korem, the regional military command in East Timor, which is in charge of territorial control, is concurrently commander of Kolakops. Under the old structure the Koopskam command was held by a more senior officer. Hence, though korem commanders are colonels elsewhere, in East Timor the post is held by Brigadier-General Rudy Warouw. The deployment of troops from several crack armed forces units means that the operation involves some direct control from Jakarta. In other words, the disbandment of Koopskam has not altered the fact that East Timor has a special military structure to deal with a very special security situation. Instead of the warfare formerly waged by Koopskam, we have the Moris Diak counter-insurgency operations.

The day-to-day territorial management, also under Brigadier-General Warouw, takes what is called the "prosperity approach", geared to win hearts and minds and to create the impression that the army is one and united with the East Timorese people. Territorial soldiers who enter the villages to

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repair fences, build bridges, resolve community problems and so on, do not wear battle gear. Often the soldiers get involved in agricultural activities to impose Javanese farming methods on the Timorese. Such methods are a standard part of counter-insurgency tactics to pacify the population. Whatever the intentions, the troops treat the locals as backward people, a typical colonial and racist attitude that most Indonesians adopt towards the East Timorese.

This two-pronged strategy - the soft approach in the villages and towns and the ruthless hunt for guerrillas - does not always run smoothly. The upsurge in the towns means that the soft territorial approach cannot cope with the new situation. The Timorese have displayed a rebelliousness comparable to the Palestinian youth in the occupied territories, pestering soldiers, throwing stones at military vehicles, puncturing tyres and burning down Indonesian market-places.

Many Timorese youngsters have ended up in jail after being beaten up in interrogation centres. In the past 12 months we have received many detailed reports about arrests in East Timor. Invariably they take place without a warrant. Military garrisons and special houses are used for detention and interrogation, and relatives are not informed of the whereabouts of the detainees.

The arrests in October and November last year were not confined to the youth. Among those detained were civil servants, including a former member of the provincial parliament and a member of the Governor's staff. In July this year seven persons were arrested in Baucau, of whom four were members of a special team of Hansip, the civil guard. Arrests often take place after midnight, when people are dragged out of their beds. Many of those arrested are suspected of having clandestine links with the armed resistance.

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No clear pattern has emerged as to whether those under arrest are held for a few weeks or months of detention and then released, or whether they are tried in court. Information indicates that some of the many political prisoners now being held in Comarca-Dili Prison are tried. A trial in East Timor is usually nothing more than a one-day affair, with no proper defence. The judge passes sentence without going throught the usual procedures of hearing witnesses and allowing the defendant to speak in his or her defence.

Indonesian management is also geared towards the timorization of the war, recruiting Timorese as conscripts or paramilitaries. The strategy is partially successful because jobs are so scarce in East Timor. A job in the army provides a regular salary and other facilities. It is unlikely that the motivation of the Timorese conscripts is high, especially when they are thrown into battle with Timorese compatriots. Hence, the majority of counter-insurgency troops roaming the countryside are indeed Indonesian soldiers.

Indonesian officials, civilian and military alike, blame the wave of disturbances on social and economic problems, particularly on the frustration of young people who have attended Indonesian schools but fail to find jobs. No one hides the fact that unemployment is rampant in East Timor, while efforts to attract capital from outside have failed. On paper, East Timor is shown in the Indonesian State budget to have a long list of development projects worth Rp 139,034 billion - about $US 70 million. But recently Governor Mario Carrascalao complained that "irregularities, malfeasance and leakages of funds provided by the Central Government have been rampant." Visitors to East Timor record seeing many half-built projects or sites with battered boards announcing a project. Even casual observers have noticed that

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virtually all economic activities are in the hands of non-Timorese, that is, Indonesians - the shops, the restaurants, the hotels, the taxis. The few jobs that become available are snapped up by Indonesian workers. The number of Indonesians now living in East Timor is steadily increasing; exact figures are hard to come by, but some sources say that there are already 150,000 new settlers out of a population of about 700,000.

Peasant farmers from all parts of Indonesia have taken up Government offers of cheap, fertile land. Land ownership in East Timor is becoming an explosive issue, with the Timorese being dispossessed of their traditional land. In the early years of the Indonesian annexation, almost the entire Timorese population was uprooted and resettled. Since last year some Timorese villagers have gradually been allowed back to their traditional regions, but not necessarily to their traditional plots. For security reasons, the new Timorese resettlement villages are situated near the main roads, while the traditional villages often lie in more remote areas near the water sources and fertile land.

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Following the upheavals of the late 1970s, much arable land was left uncultivated. Land registration from the Portuguese period must now give way to Indonesian law, to the disadvantage of the Timorese, who often cannot produce any legal proof of land ownership apart from their traditional claim. The Indonesian authorities are encouraging people from elsewhere to start new lives in East Timor, with the result that the East Timorese are being swamped by new, Indonesian settlers.

As for unemployment, a new scheme has been devised, to send young East Timorese to Java to work in factories. The scheme has the endorsement of the Indonesian Government and is financed by Yayasan Tiara, a foundation owned by President Suharto's eldest daughter, Tutut Hardijanto Rukmana. Though given promises of vocational training and good salaries, several hundred Timorese have found themselves being exploited as cheap labour on the factory assembly line. The Timorese resistance sees this as a ploy to get rid of the hard core of demonstrators and end the wave of rebellion in the towns.

East Timor has been on the agenda of this Committee since 1975, but little has been achieved in pushing forward the process of decolonization in East Timor. In places like Namibia the process has been completed, while the Western Sahara and Eritrea are nearing a just solution. Peace has been restored in Angola, and moves towards peace are under way in Mozambique and Cambodia. The cold war has ended, and there is a sense of optimism that global problems will be solved in a peaceful and principled way, without the double standards that have been used in the past.

The time for peace talks has come for East Timor. Xanana Gusmao, the leader of the East Timorese resistance, has called for a cease-fire and declared his willingness to negotiate, without preconditions, under the

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auspices of the United Nations. The Secretary-General should convene a meeting between the various parties: Indonesia, Portugal and representatives of the East Timorese people. The international atmosphere is now ripe for a solution to one of the last remaining colonies on this globe.

The petitioner withdrew.

QUESTION OF GIBRALTAR (A/AC.109/1074)

The CHAIRMAN: The last item on the agenda of this meeting is the question of Gibraltar.

The Committee has before it a working paper prepared by the Secretariat, contained in document A/AC.109/1074.

Taking into account developments in respect of Gibraltar, I wish to suggest that the Committee should continue consideration of the question at its next session, subject to any directives which the General Assembly may wish to give at its forty-sixth session, and that, so as to facilitate the Fourth Committee's consideration of the item, the Special Committee should transmit to the Assembly all the relevant documents.

It was so decided.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.